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brought in by government officials and their wives, but it is not obvious. Clapping the hands to summon a servant, rarely encountered in a typical Kurdish household, or prohibiting them the use of the toilet facilities of the master are the two most pointed examples. However, servants even in this category understand little of the servile behavior associated with those of the city. "It is comical," said an official. "My servant speaks to me like an old friend, and often tells me what to do. When I try to curse him for something, he argues with me and tells me that I am the one who is wrong. On the other hand, he never steals anything, and tells everyone in the neighborhood what a great man I am."

The service of others is by no means strange or uncommon in Kurdistan, but in the country the concept of a servant is that of a family retainer, a person of the second category and not a wage-earner or a menial, who receives food and lodging, and occasionally "gifts" of money, and who, while in no sense a party to the realities of inheritance or marriage, is to most purposes a member of the family. Indeed, the exchange of kinship terms, such as khā, "uncle," or yilk, "aunt," with such a retainer is commonplace, similar to our own "Uncle" Sam or "Aunt" Mandy prior to the Civil War. Almost all of these people come from the villages, and their residence in Rowanduz is only temporary, although it may be repeated again and again. Many of the women have quarreled with their

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some extent. For immediate use, water is dipped into one of a number of quart jugs, an unfired cream-coloured vessel with a wide body, a long narrow neck, and a flaring mouth, turned on the wheel and imported commercially from Mosul. For further cleansing, a piece of cheesecloth is often tied over the mouth of these jugs. Glass tumblers are used to serve water, and, if it is offered to a number of guests, it is necessary that the glass be cleaned after each person has used it. This is done by pouring out a little from the jug, circulating it in the glass, and tossing it on the earthen floor or into the courtyard. The water in the basin is not used for drinking, but for a variety of other purposes, washing cooking utensils and dishes, bathing infants, laundry, and so on.

It is interesting that the public bath, the hamam, so much a feature of life in Medieval and Ottoman times, has largely disappeared in modern Kurdistan.¹ Bathing in Kurdistan is confined to private homes, and there is no place in the town, including the khan or hotel, where a person might obtain bathing facilities for a price. The larger houses contain a closet or a small room for this purpose, and the bather is furnished with a bucket or jar of water which he pours over himself with a dipper of some sort, usually a tin can. Waste runs out through a drain in the floor. Toilet facilities are also to be found in

¹ Masaheri, 1951, p. 175.

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a closet or booth, usually on the first floor of the house, with a door, as in the case of the bath, of wooden planks or a cloth hanging. This booth contains little more than a slit trench, perpendicular to the entrance, leading down into the foundations of the house and ultimately outside, and a metal ewer, a long-necked vessel with a capacity of about a pint, containing water. The left hand is used for cleansing, and, while never as stringently abhorred as among certain Arab groups, it is considered impolite to use it in formal dining, save in tearing apart food, although everyday practice admits considerable latitude.

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Interior lighting is furnished by fuel lamps. Before the first World War, a kerosene lantern, described as "Hungarian," was in use, imported together with its fuel from Russia through Iran. Since that time, a new and brighter type of lamp, making use of gasoline put under pressure by an attached pneumatic pumping device, has come into use in the wealthier homes. In a number of the poorer houses a small, simple oil lamp, which provides only a feeble glow, is utilized as an occasional night light. Save during Ramadhan, when one or two meals are taken during the evening, most of the houses are completely darkened soon after nightfall. Heating during winter does not receive systematic attention, although the wealthy make use of kerosene stoves. The general remedy is to don additional clothing. The larger houses have a woodpile,

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of a college or university education and the relative degree of Westernization. The officials and officers are all graduates of colleges or academies, either in Iraq or abroad, where many aspects of Western civilization are often literally enforced on them by their fellow students. It would be difficult to describe fully the details of this influence, but it may be summed up in what, with certain reservations and qualifications, they consider to be the dress, manners, and thought of a Western gentleman.

Thus they wear European clothing, indulge in gaming and drinking (which, one might note, despite Islam, are by no means strangers to the region of the Middle East, save that in this case specifically European forms are encountered), and, in general, try to comport themselves in their work and in masculine society as their models abroad.

There are a large number of reservations, a few of which may be enumerated here. The attitude of an Arab official or officer toward his womenfolk, in a rural setting, is, if anything, more stringent than that of the local aristocrats. None of the officials would consider appearing before other males naked¹ or "indecently" clothed, and almost all consider European toilet habits filthy in the extreme, water being thought far more hygienic than tissue.

A large part of the passion for Westernization stems from sincere desire, as they emulate it, to better their country, while in others it amounts to pure snobbery. In

the latter category, one can often hear officials, speaking [82]
¹[should read: naked. - Analyst]

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The wedding

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were exceedingly modest. Wedding, on the other hand, was of a type different from what we are accustomed to in our pattern of behavior.

They left the bride at daylight the night before, and during the day among women took place in a separate position without the help of any time being occupied. As described European custom does in which the daughter of the bride of Tugians had wanted to be photographed seated her to break off the sitting and to dash into the dark courtyard in the courtyard, where she sat hunched up in the corner with her head down along protectively around her bare legs, when two women came from the village, leading water, supposed to give the girl to the courtyard, in the other village, when my interpreter and I took a mean bath together in the bathroom, she always kept her head covering her face when the sitting position on the small wooden stool while being dressed was not sufficiently convincing.

On the other hand women did not apply when referring women. This took place collectively and in the presence of other women leading water from the bath, where water was available for the sole purpose wedding, whether in the garden basin of the bride's house at Tugians and Berlin, or in the more private facilities still in the courtyard of the bride's house at Tugians, or in one of the big public wedding basins for women in the village. This was done discreetly defined by the emphasis of women's costumes, but was not a private but a joint undertaking, in which culture and pure was neither enough nor required.

The wedding ceremony was then held in the house of the bride and groom for the celebration of wedding—that is to say the day on which the bride is handed over to the bridegroom—where, according to Herzl¹⁹, the Turk-occupied Russian Muslims from Sunday and Thursday.

To judge by the four wedding facts I had an opportunity of witnessing, namely, as is said, in Southern Kurdistan, the Kurds appear to follow the Turks in this matter. In the village the two weddings took place on Sunday (16 June and 14 July, 1937), the third on a Wednesday (22 May, 1937), while the one wedding I was present at at Sulaiman was celebrated on a Thursday (8 August, 1937). Later my interpreter informed me by letter of her brother's wedding, which took place on a Monday (22 August, 1937). No rule can be discerned from such sparse material, namely the negative one that the Arab prohibition for Friday—the most important day of the week for Islam—as the day for the handing over of the bride does not apply to the case of the Kurds. The wedding I witnessed in Tugians and in neighboring village, Sulaiman, took place in a female village within. The upper class village within wedding was not celebrated during my stay in Southern Kurdistan.

As one of the three village weddings I was able to observe the men's role in the festivities, at the time the women's. In all three cases, however, I was in the bridegroom's house in which the bride was brought. In none of the cases did I have an opportunity to see what went on in the bride's house.

The leading of the bride, still, who all came from outside, was a matter for the past²⁰. As it is the wedding a wedding of kind was held with men left the village for the bride's costume. Among the men, most of them in the village, was the bridegroom's father, but not the bridegroom, while